of The N. Y. Tribus

GUAYAQUIL, Friday, Nov. 30, 1855. Tember is the most intimately connected with the United States of all the minor ports of Peru. It was the first port in the present territory of Peru visited by Europeans. Early in the sixteenth century the first expedition of Pizarro from Panams, for discovery and conquest in South America, anchored at the month of Tumbes river, and visited the ancient town of the same name, the descried ate of which lies about six miles from the present village. There I recently saw stone ruins of houses whose straight walls and excellent masonry are in-Initely superior to any architectural performances of which the present inhabitants of its neighborboed are capable. I have seen, also, silver ornaments of rude workmanship, and rough specimens of pottery which had been taken from these ruins. Irregular mounds rise in the neighborhood, which might yield a harvest to the antiquary, but I do not know of their having been explored.

The old Town of Tumbes was deserted, and the present place has grown up in consequence of a change of current in the river; the old branch is now dry, and Tumbes of to-day lies on the banks of a pretty stream, where probably no water was in the days of the Incas; and such is the nature of the ground and the currents, that I should not be surprised, if twenty years hence it should break out in a new spot, and require another change in the location of the village. The present town of Tumbes lies about five miles from the mouth of the river, as the bee flies, but eight or nine miles by the river circuit. Launches of about 30 tuns can ascend to the town most of the year, and larger craft could reach nearly to the same point could they but pass the bar at the mouth. The town sists of from 100 to 150 cane houses and a cane church.

The people who inhabit these houses are, take The people who inhabit these houses are, take them all together, probably the laziest, meanest, most rascally, ignorant and corrupt population of which it is possible to conceive. I speak of them as a whole, and include the agricultural population of North Peru and South Ecuador. There are, of course, exceptions, and I have seen instances of simple honesty among them which identically the property of the property and the proper bonor to human nature; but I have never seen nor heard of an industrious person. No improvement can be expected in the political condition of this wretched republic until its agricultural and laboring population is replaced by a more enter-prising and industrious people. I say replaced be-cause I am inclined to believe that the present race is now so low in physical, intellectual and moral constitution as to be incapable of improve ment under the existing climate and political administration of Peru; and the latter they have neither the disposition nor intelligence to reform.

The rustic population of Peru depend upon their labor and stealing for subsistence (under the term "stealing" I include all sorts of cheating); but they are only petty thieves, and very clumsy ones; they however feel no shame in being detected, unless, at the same time the stolen property is recovered. As for labor, they do not work haif the year. One fourth of all the year is occupied by the church holidays, (including Sundays), and more than one fourth is wasted in the days after the feasts. Monday is usually counted as equal to half a day's work, such as their work is, and an Irishman or a slave in the United States would count that a holiday in which his task did not exceed two days' work of a Peru-

vian peon.
On birth or "saint's" days, of persons whom
they wish to compliment, it is usual for the friends
to club together and purchase a quantity of liquors, which they send to the house; they meet there in the morning and spend the day some-times temperately and sometimes intemperately. The host sets the best dinner his means afford, at about 5 o'clock p. m.; then commences the drink-ing; at dark dancing commences, which lasts till daylight. At these, and all similar gatherings, the ladies make it a point to get as many people drunk as possible. The way they do it is as follows: They ask every man to drink with them; they give him the strongest liquor and they themselves take the weakest; if the victim is not up to their dodges, they will only touch their lips to the wine, without tasting; if he insists upon their taking glass for glass, they will drain the glass, but immediately wipe the mouth with a dark colored kerchief, or in their shawls, and discharge every drop of the wine into that. I have seen a very pretty girl with her shawl and handkerchief both wringing wet with wine and sweet cordials. They are usually of cotton or bandana silk, and can therefore be washed without material damage. Sometimes, however, the intended victim proves too smart, and knowing the trick, seizes both the fair tempter's hands, holds them until she has swallowed the liquor and opened her mouth and spokes, which is the only sure test, and even that is not

always sure. The population of Peru, like that of Chili, Bo-livia, and Ecuador, consists of a very few of pure Spanish extraction, a great many of a mixto Spanish and Indian, with quite frequently a dash of the negro, a cross of the negro and Indian, and a few pure Indians. The color varies from a dark branette, through various shades of yellow and hogany color, to glossy black. In the words of one of our classic lyrics

"Some are black, and some are blacker,
And some are de color ob a chaw o' tebacker."

The morals of the Peruvian population are pe-

A woman does not become an outcast as soon as it is known that the can no longer "braid her hair with the virgin snood," while she has yet no right to the title of wife. An immense number form connections of convenience; indeed, I do not suppose that more than one half of the couples who are now living together in the rustic districts of Peru are married. A pretty girl prefers such a connection with a man who is well off, and will give her a comfortable house, pretty dresses and servants, to marrying with one of her own class, although she knows that the former arrangemen will be only temporary. She probably gains caste by the step. She certainly gains in a pecuniary point of view, and is not subject to the awful drudgery and often cruelty incident to the married life of a peon family. She lets hereafter take care of itself. The number of illegitimate children as compared with the legitimate is incredible. The former seems to be the rule, the latter the exception. I am acquainted with a man whose business has for many years called him frequently to four different towns from 90 to 200 miles spart. In each of these towns he keeps a house, the mistress of At the house of a cura where I frequently visited, in one town where I tarried, I was introduced to two pretty girls as his neices. I afterward learned that they were his daughters. As the Roman church does not allow her priests to marry, he could not "make an honest woman of" their mother. At another house where I once visited I was introduced to the wife and all the family. The next day two young ladies arrived who were affectionately received by all, and they called "mine host" papa, and rightly too; while their mother was his wife's sister and lived a few doors off. Instances are by no means rare where a man acknowledges 20 or 30, and I have been acquainted with one man who gave me the names of 63 illegitimate children, several of whom were officers in the civil department of Government. He said Peru owed him a pension. It is supposed that as a matter of course every unmarried man has an illicit connection; should be deny it the ladies themselves would not believe him, or if they did they would despise him as little better than a

But let us come back to my starting point, Tumbes, of whose merals, by the way, I can say sething better than I have said of the country generally. I have said that the United States are more intimately connected with this than any other of the miner ports of Peru. This arises from the Set that it is a very convenient port for taking wood and water, of which whalemen have availed themselves from time immemorial, at first without

law or license, for by the laws of Peru this was not a port of entry for any foreign vessels, nor for Peruvian vessels coming from foreign ports. A treaty concluded between the United States and Peru in 1851, however, now makes it a port of entry to all United States whaling or fishing vessels. These bardy fishermen used to come in pretending they were in distress; the au-thorities winked at the pretense; and they anchored, slung their casks together and towed them four or five miles up the river until they found sweet water, and filled them. Other boats' crews would go on shore and cut down the mangrove trees which crowd the banks, and boat them off for firewood; and with their drygoods and "nothey paid for the camotes or sweet potatoes, these, limes and lemons, oranges, fresh beef, squashes, limes and lemons, oranges, fresh beef, pigs, and the like, which they required for food, and as anti-scorbutics in their long croises "bobbing for whale." In 1851, however, a treaty was concluded between the United States and Perfl, by which these visits are recognized as legitimate, and certain privileges extended to them which are not allowed to merchant vessels. Now, the people of the town cut wood and pile it on the point for sale to whalemen, and the senson of whalers is looked forward to by Tumbes people with the same anxiety as the Spring and Fall trade is expected among our dealers at home. These seasons are May and June, and September and October. In 1854 about seventy whalers visited this port; in 1855 the number will probably be considerably greater. In the months of August and September alone there were upward of thirty, and more than usual continued to arrive in October. Here I might mention an item of Peruvian stu-

pidity which is "bard to beat," which came to my knowledge while on a visit at Tumbes a few

It seems that by the treaty referred to above whalers are allowed the privilege not only of an-choring free of all harbor and light dues whatever, but also of introducing such goods as they barter for supplies, or in the words of the treaty, "merchandise, including oil and candles, to the amount of \$200 od ralorem for each vessel, free of all daties whatsoever;" and if the vessel requires to sell more than \$200 worth, they may introduce, in addition, \$1,000 worth more, without becoming subject to harbor dues, by paying only such duties as citizens of the most favored nation would pay upon intro-ducing the same or similar goods into any Peruvian port of entry. After this treaty had been in ex-istence some three and a half years, and observed by the authorities of Tumbes, without question, when, in answer, I believe, to some questions from the Deputy Collector of the port, instructions came down from the central Custom House, to the effect that whalers must not introduce any merchandise whatever free of duties, except the actual produce of the fishery, which they declared to be oil and candles; and that they ought not to consider any vessel a whaler which had anything on board except the outil tof provisions for men and the implementation ments of whaling. This instruction, if strictly ob-served, would cut off all whalers from entering Tumbes, because they all carry more or less mer-chandise as a cheaper medium than cash for paying for supplies, and Tumbes is not a port of entry for any merchant vessel. The authorities, however, ignored this part of the instructions, but put on the screws by way of duties on everything ex-cept eil and candles. Our Minister and our Gov-ernment were immediately notified of this abrogation of the treaty, but up to October last the instructions remained in force, which called forth a protest from the whaling captains in port on the 20th of that month, a copy of which I was kindly allowed to take by the excellent Uzited States Consul at Tambes, Dr. S. J. Oakford, and which I inclose. It was drawn up on the 20th Sources. inclose. It was drawn up on the 20th September, and in ten days it had received seventeen signatures-a sufficient comment on the number resort-

ing to the port.

I do not believe that any civilized Government, except that of the United States, would have allowed such an infraction of a treaty to pass so quietly for so long a time, even though it proceeded, as doubtless this did from the stupidity of some

under officer, and not from the Government itself, which had something else to think of just then.

And here I must be allowed to have my fling, in common with all United States travelers, at the miscrable, contemptible foreign policy of our "ger-reat and gel-lorious ked ntry," as the Bunkum Flag-staff hath it. The longer I tarry abroad, and the more opportunities I have for observing the amount of protection which our citizens enjoy from their own Government, as compared with that ex-erted by the French and British Governments in iavor of their subjects, the more sick and ashamed I become of our foreign policy. It is useless to give new instances after the volumes that have been published, but I will just say that though whalers have been in the habit of making a rendezyour of Tumbes for many years, yet a United States man-of-war was never seen anchored there; and new there are \$3,000,000 or \$4,000,000, at least, of the property of United States tax payers floating at anchor at the mouth of that river every year.

To the Hon. J. RANDOLPH CLAY, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the United States, near the Supreme Government of Peru, at Lima.

Sirk: The undersigned, masters of American whaling vessels at anchorin the bay of Tumbes, do respectfully represent to you that, trusting to the provisions, especially of the 12th article of the treaty ratified 1st December, 1851, between the governments of the died States of America and of Peru, we have come to the port of Tumbes for the purpose of procuring wood, water and fresh provisions, intending to barter therefor our supplies and merchandise, including oil, slush and candies, which we might profitably do were therefor our supplies and merchandise, including oil, slush and candies, which we might profitably do were we allowed the privileges stipulated in the above-mentioned treaty. But, without any previous notice, these privileges are denied to us by the authorities of the port of Tumbes, and we are not allowed to land any amount whatever of merchandise or slush, excepting only oil and candles, without paying duties thereon, contrary to the provisions of said treaty. And we feel that we should be wanting in our duty to ourselves and all concerned, should we neglect to advise you, as the representative of our Government in this country, of this violation of a sacred treaty, and to protest against the same, as we do now hereby selemnly protest: That the United States whaling fleet new lying at this port, and likely to touch thereat during the present season, has suffered, and will continue to suffer, serious pecuniary damages so long as this unannounced abrogation of the said treaty shall evolutine; because, as is well known to you. Sir, all whale-ships are fitted out from home with a limited portion of miscellaneous merchandise and surplus stores, such as bread, dry goods, flour, &c., by the sale of which a part of the fresh supplies are expected to be precured in foreign ports. And in consequence of the present action of the authorities of Tumbes, those who have oil to sell are obliged to part with it at very low and unremunerating prices; while those depending upon the sale of slush, merchandise and at very low and nurremunerating prices; while those depending upon the sale of slush, merchandise and surplus supplies are compelled to place them at a rainous sacrifice, owing to the unwonted and illegal exaccustactinee, owing to the unwonted and negative exi-tion of duties on said articles. The only alternative left for us is to draw upon our agents at the heavy rates of discount usual in ports cut off like this from direct or regular communication with any commercial metropolis—a mode of proceeding always unsatisfac-tory, when we had relied upon the solemn pledges of two Governments for a different state of things.

two Governments for a different state of things.

"And we do most respectfully request that you, Sir, will take such steps as your official position enables and impels you to take to enforce a faithful performance and observance of the above-mentioned treaty, or clse a due and official notice that it will no longer be observed, in order that whalemen may know whether they can continue to call at Tumbes, or must seek some other port on this coast for their necessary cumbics.

"We are the more impelled to take this method of "We are the more impelled to take this method of bringing the subject to your notice by the fact that when we appealed to the United States Consul at this place—Dr. Samuel J. Oakford—for protection against the aforesaid imposition, he informed us that by his dispatch, dated the 8th day of May last, he had advised you, Sir, that such a violation of the treaty was about being attempted, and that up to the present date has received no reply to said dispatch.

"We feel bound also to state that Article 37 of said treaty is practically annulled at this port is recent to

We feel bound also to state that Article 37 of said treaty is practically annulled at this port is regard to deserters, which are always numerous after long cruises; as the Captain of the Port, whose duty it is to arrest and restore them, declines to take any trouble for the accomplishment of this portion of his duty, unless he is paid nearly or quite an equal remuneration to the expense which would be incurred in shipping new men.

sens of the United States as at any other point on this " Hoping that you will find it expedient to take the

"Hoping that you will find it expedient to take the foregoing suggestions into immediate consideration, "We have the honer to be, Sir.
"You well wishers and obteint servants, 'Von well wishers and obteint servants, 'RICHMOND MANCHESTER, bark Richmond. THOS. DALLMAN, ship Mary Ann. WM. CLEAVELAND, bark Morning Star. J. S. PORMAN, ship Baisena.
THAD. C. DEFRIEZE, ship Richard Mitchell. JAMES A. CROWELL, ship Napoleon.
HENRY D. NORTON, ship Napoleon.
LAWRENCE GRUNINGER, ship Wm. Lee. FRED. H. WINSLOW, bark Harvest, CH. H. RULE, bark Mary Frances, CHAS. STETSON, ship Ansal Gibbs.
ASA HONIE, bark Elizabeth.
R. W. CRAPO, bark Cornella.
J. G. ALLEN, ship Herald.
OBED. SWAIN, ship Catawba.
JOS. WINSLOW, ship Constitution. H. COMERY, bark Sea Fox

AN ANGRY GOVERNOR AND A CRAZY LEGISLATURE.

THE VERMONT RESOLUTIONS IN GEORGIA. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

MILLEDGEVILLE (Gn.), Jan. 28, 1856. To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I received a few days ago a series of resolutions adopted by the Legislature of Vermont in relation to Kansas, transmitted by the Governor of that State, to be submitted to the General Assembly of Georgia. I have hesitated to comply with the request of the last resolution, for two reasons-first, because I deprecated the humiliation of being made the medium to communicate an insult to the State of Georgia; and communicate an insult to the State of Georgia; and secondly, because I equally deprecate a renewal of the agitation of the question of Slavery so adverse to the repose of the popular mind, so destructive of the feelings of amity which should characterize the rela-tions between the States of this Republic, and so hostile to the stability and integrity of the Union. But after salm deliberation I have deemed it my duty to trans-mit to you these resolutions, content that the conse-

anim deliberation I have deemed it my duty to transmit to you these resolutions, content that the consequences shall be upon the heads of their authors.

The preamble and resolutions profess to assert facts and principles, but their allegations of facts were false and their principles totally unsound and at variance with the correct theory of our Government. As a fact, they assert that the power and influence of the slave-holding States have been exerted in extending and holding States have been extended in a strengthening the institution of human Slavery; that for this purpose the laws for the recovery of fugilities slaves, and the organization of Territorial Governments for Kansas and Nebraska, were passed, and that the present Administration of the General Government has lent itself to these illegal and unjust the state of the secondary required, it would be an entment has lent itself to these illegal and unjust schemes. If the occasion required, it would be an easy task to confront these declarations with the teachings of all our past history. Not a solitary instance can be adduced in which the slaveholding States ever asked Congress even to take jurisdiction of the question of Slavery, much less to exercise the power of promoting its establishment or extension. Non-intervention is now, and always has been, their metto. They have deprecated the agitation of the subject in every form. They have remonstrated against its introduction into the halls of Congress.

They have appealed to the fanatics of the non-slave-beloing States by every argument by which they They have appealed to the fanatics of the non-slave-holding States, by every argument by which they could hope to reach their patriotism or their reason, to desist from their assaults upon the Constitutional rights of the South. The passage of the law for the recapture of fugitive slaves, so far from being "cou-"trary to the clear intent of the founders of the Gov-"ernment and in violation of the spirit of the Consti-

"ernment and in violation of the spirit of the Consti"tution." was in perfect accordance with both.
The Kansas-Nebraska act, so far from being a
measure inviting the establishment of Slavery in those.
Territories, simply opens them to the free lagress of all
the clitzens of the several States, and invests them with
the right of making their own laws, subject to no restriction but that of conformity to the Constitution of
the United States. The present Administration of the
General Government has, therefore, "lent itself" to no
"illegal and unjust schemes" by seeing to the faithful
execution of these laws. But to have been derelict,
the President would have incurred a guilt next in turpitude to treason against the Constitution which he has
sworn to support. The assertions of the preamble and
resolutions of Verment in reference to the proceedings
of the Kansas Legislature, are equally unfortunate.

worn to support. The assertions of the preamble and resolutions of Verment in reference to the proceedings of the Kansas Legislature, are equally unfortunate. It is a fact of general notoriety, that under the proclamation of Gov. Reeder, prescribing the time, place and manner of holding elections for members of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, the people thereof selected their Representatives, that they convened at the place designated in his poselamation, received from the Governor certificates of their election, organized as a legislative body, and the Governor commicated to them his inaugural message.

Thus regularly clothed with Legislative functions, they proceeded orderly to the enactment of laws for the government of Kansas. Now, it is asserted that armed citizens from Missouri unlawfully invaded the Territory, took possession of the ballot-hor, prevented a certain class of citizens from exercising the elective franchise, and thus vitiated the elections held in pursuance of the Governor's proclamation. This is not true; and looking to the circumstances of the case, it is impossible to have been true. In this proclamation, Gov. Reeder was careful to specify and define the mode of contesting the legality of the election of members to the Territorial Legislaeure. He prescribed "that in "case any persons shall desire to contest the election of any district of the Territory, they shall make a written statement, directed to the Governor, setting "forth the particular precinct or district they intend to "contest, the candidate whose election they dispute," and the specific causes of complaint in the conduct "or return of said election, which complaint shall be and the specific causes of complaint in the conduct or return of said election, which complaint shall be signed by not less than ten qualified voters of the Territory, and with the affidavit of one or more of such voters, as to the truth of the facts set forth therein, such written statement must be presented to the Governor, at his office, on or before the 4th day of April, 1855, and if it shall appear that the result of the election in any Council District might

be changed by said contest, a day will be fixed for hearing the cause."

The seats of several members were contested, and The seats of several members were contested, and though the mode prescribed was not pursued, yet the Governor entertained the cases, declared the seats vacant, ordered new elections, and issued certificates of election to the persons so elected. Now, Gov. Reader's sympathics are well known. It is notorious that he belongs to that party whose sentiments are reflected by these Vermont resolutions. Is it, then, to be credited for one moment that if the alleged violence and frand upon the ballot-box had been actually perpetrated, protests against the election would not have been forwarded in every instance; and if entered, is it not quite certain that the Governor would have vacated the elections? But instead of this, there were but few protests preferred—not enough to change the political complexion of the Legislative Assembly; and after the purgation of that body, under the operation of these protests, every member was furnished with restificates of the Governor as the evidence of his right to a seat therein. Why, then, this clamor on the right to a seat therein. Why, then, this clamor on the right to a seat therein. Why, then, this clamor on the part of Vermont and the fanatics of the non-slaveholding States against these proceedings of the Territory of Kansas! Is it because the elections, alluded to under the non-intervention principle of the Kansas-Nebraska act, resulted in the return of a large majority to the Legislative Assembly in favor of the institution of Slavery! For the purpose of justifying their clamor, they drew upon their imagination for facts, and, proceeding entirely upon false premises, they are seconding the factions and mutinous spirit of the Abolition party in Kansas, who, repudiating the elections and action of the Territorial Legislature, are seeking to erect Kansas into a non-slaveholding State, and to secure her admission into the Union as such.

It is not necessary for me to vindicate the State of Missouri from the grossly insulting and false imputations made against a respectable portion of her critzens. That is triumphantly proclaimed by the history of the events to which I have alluded. But in a more important respect, the attitude of the Missourians, who are thus branded, challenges the support and sympathy of Georgia and the Slavenolding States, as well as of the friends of the Constitution, in every quarter of the Union. It is natural that she should be peculiarly sensitive as to the character of the demestic institutions of Kansas. Though she ought not (as she has not) illegally to interfere with the affairs of Kansas, yet she cannot be expected to stand as a tame spectator of the extraordinary efforts from the East to abolitionize that

pected to stand as a tame speciator of the extraor-dinary efforts from the East to abolitionize that Territory. Why are Vermont and her colaborers in dinary efforts from the East to abondonize that Territory. Why are Vermont and her colaborers in the nonslaveholding States silent in reference to such movements as that of the Massachusetts Aid Society! Though many hundred nules distant from Kansas, they seek to control her destiny by pouring into her burders their hordes of kired emigrants, and it is all considered legitimate and right; but when the people of Missouri, just on the border of the scene of action, having the most vital interest in the subject, indicate solicitude to protect the bona fide settlers of Kansas solicitude to protect the bona fide settlers of Kansas against these Eastern intruders, and to vindicate, as a against these Lastern intruders, and to vinnicate, as a matter of self-preservation, the great principle of the Kansas Nebraska act, they are gravely charged, by solemn legislative resolves, with "unlawful invasion, "and illegal and forcible violation of the rights of the "elective franchise." I will not trust myself to use the language which would appropriately characterize such unjust and officious intermeddline.

to the expense which would be incurred in shipping new men.

"In conclusion, we respectfully suggest that, although nward of two millions dellars worth of property in American whaling vessels touch at this port, on an average, in every year, yet there has never been, to our knowledge, a single United States war vessel at anchor here; and we believe that the presence of one of our national vessels is as imperiously demanded at this port for the protection of the property of the citizens relative to this vital controversy, but that its final settlement must affect all the slaveholding States. The institution of Slavery exists in Missouri; but she is now flanked on two sides by non-slaveholding States will be her condition if Kansas, which lies on her west, half also become a non-slaveholding State.) Warred

upon by Abelitioniets on the one hand, and practically denied the previsions of the Fugitive Slave Law on the on the other, her slaves will be valueless, and the institution be crushed out within her borders. It will require but a few years for this consummation, by which the disparity between the relative strength of the two great sections in the Federal Government will be permanently increased, the South made weaker and the North stronger. Hence the importance, not only to great sections in the Federal Constitution in the Indiana manently increased, the South made weaker and the North stronger. Hence the importance, not only to she South but to the entire Union, that the legitimate operations of the Kaneas act should not be thwarted by external influences from any quarter. It opens the Territory to all the citizens of the United States, secures to them therein the right of self-government, and to adopt or reject Slavery in the formation of their State Constitution. While, therefore, the South will not interfere improperly, and is prepared to acquiesce in the final decision of the bona fide settlers of Kaneas on the subject of Slavery, they will not tolerate fanation efforts to mould its institutions, and will and ought to rally to the support of the people of Missouri in protecting them in the free and unrestrained exercise of their rights under the law of their Territorial organization. If you think proper to make any response to the resolutions of Vermout, this should be distinctly announced without the fervor of passion, but with the firmness and dignity of unalterable purpose.

the resolutions of Vermont, this should be distinctly announced without the fervor of passion, but with the firmness and dignity of unalterable purpose.

The doctrines of political principle involved in the preamble and resolutions under consideration are as erroneous as their allegations of fact are untrue. They take it for granted that Congress may rightfully take jurisdiction of the question of Slavery in the Territories of the United States, and is bound so to exercise it as to exclude therefrom citizens of the slaveholding States with their property. No such authority is found in the Constitution; it is totally at war with the theory of our system of Government; it ignores the sovereignty and equality of the States. To these doctrines Georgia can never subscribe. Their practical enforcement will lead to dissolution if resisted; and if submitted to, to the degradation of one-half of the members of the Federal Union. It were easy, if necessary, to demonstrate the fallacy of these doctrines; but it is idle to reason with fanaticism, and sound constitutional men everywhere are already convinced. Let us await the future in dignified patience, but resolved to meet aggression as becomes freemen. I should not have indulged in such elaborate comment upon the preamble and resolutions of Vermont, but for the fact that existing circumstances give them a point and significance which it is impossible to disregard. It is obvicus that the fate of Kansas is the paramount question of the day, and that upon its satisfactory adiustment is probably suspended the safety of the slaveholding States, and the continuance of the Federal Union.

[Here follow some remarks on the failure of the

[Here follow some remarks on the failure of the House of Representatives at Washington to choose

a Speaker.] For all practical purposes, the Government is at an end, and must continue during the existence of this sectional strife in the representative hall of Congress. What will be the result no prescience can predict; but that it is disastrous to the brotherhood between the States, that it weakens the constitutional bonds of our Union, and augments the tendency to array section against section, cannot be denied. In this state of thing it behooves the State of Georgia, as an integral section of the South to do whatever she can to arrest pertion of the South, to do whatever she can to arrest the tide of aggression; or failing to do that, to place herself in the safest attitue of self-preservation. It may be, and I trust that such will be the result, that

herself in the safest attitue of sell-preservation. It may be, and I trust that such will be the result, that the union of the sound constitutional men of all sections, of which there are gratifying indications, may prove strong enough, ultimately, to arrest the machinations of fanaticism, and save the Union from the stern which now darkens our political horizon.

But it is vain to expect that our assailants will voluntarily relent their purpose or relax their efforts for our destruction. They will either conquer the friends of the Constitution and the Union, or they must be conquered. In the latter result the rights of the South will be maintained; but in the event of the former the South must take care of herself. Such is the awful issue which is now distinctly presented to the country. While you should studiously avoid all rashness, either in expression or action, you will be disloyal to the great first law of self-protection if you should fail to adopt such measures of legislation as may be best calculated to avert impending calamities, if they may be, and if not, to protect the State against their ruinous consequences.

quences.

Georgia took her position upon this momentous issue in her Convention of 1850. In the fourth resolution of that body she solemnly announced that she would "resist even (as a last resort) to the disruption of "every tie that binds her to the Union," the acts of negression therein enumerated. But the Convention did not designate the time and mode of resistance, but left it for a future Convention to determine. But such a Convention cannot be assembled without legislative authority. I therefore respectfully renew the recoma Convention cannot be assembled without legislative authority. I therefore respectfully renew the recom-mendation contained in my Message to the General Assembly at the commencement of your session, that you pass an act authorizing the Governor, upon the happening of any of the contingencies specified in the fourth resolution of the Convention of 1850, to call a Convention to consider and determine the time and Convention to consider and determine the time and mode of resistance thereby contemplated. Should such can'ingency never arise, the Legislature can do no harm; if it should, it will be noticed in advance to our assainants; will throw upon them the responsibility of consequences, and justify the State in the estimation of mankind. The signs of the times are portentous; it is sts with you calmly and firmly to place the State in the best attitude to breast the swelling storm.

HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON.

There was much high feeling and indignation in the House upon the reading of the Vermont resolutions. Every man expressed the utmost contempt and loathing for this string of insulting falsehoods and for their authors. The only point upon which they were not greed was what disposition should be made of them Mr. Lewis of Green moved to refer them to the mmittee on the State of the Republic.

Mr. Jones of Morgan opposed, and offered a resoluion that the Governor transmit to the Governor of Vermont, with a request to lay the same before the Legislature of said State, the resolves of the Georgia Convention of 1850, and to inclose within the same Mr. Terbune said he would go for that if they would

nd powder with it.
Mr. Jones—And a coil of rope.

Mr. Jones—And a coil of rope.
Mr. Terhune—"Hanging is too good for traitors."
He was opposed to referring these resolutions to the
Committee on the State of the Republic. Words were
useless. The time for action had come. He, for one,
was prepared to act, and he hoped they would not
be bound in the form of a committee.
Mr. Crook, Chairman of the Committee, assured the
gentleman from Floyd that the Committee had as
much contempt for these things as he, and that some active indication of that would be recommended by them.
Mr. Smith of Union offered the following resolutions,
the reading of which was received with applause by the
House:
Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Georgia.

House:

Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Georgia
that his Excellency the Governor be, and is hereby requested to that his Excellency the Governor be, and is hereby requested to transmit the Vermont resolutions forthwith to the deep, dark and fettle sink or social and political injusty from whence the emanated, with the following unequivocal declaration inscribed

thereon:

Resolved, That Georgia standing on her constitutional palla-dium, heeds not the maniar ravings of hell-born fanaticism, nor stoops from her lofty position to hold terms with perjured

After some further discussion, the motion to refer After some further discussion, the motion to refer prevailed. A motion was then made to print 500 copies of the Governor's Message, (accompanying these resolutions,) and Vermont resolves. The House would not for a moment entertain the idea of printing these insults, but after some further debate 100 copies of the Message were ordered to be printed.

In the Senate the following resolution was offered: Revolved, That his Excellency President Pierce be requested to employ a sufficient number of able-bodied Irishmen to proceed to the State of Vermont, and to dig a ditch around the innits of the same, and to float "the thing" into the Atlantic.

CARE OF BAGGAGE ON THE NEW-YORK CENTRAL

RAILBOAD.—In the last six months of the last year nearly six hundred thousand trunks, carpet-bags chests, boxes, and other articles of baggage, were checked upon the New-York Central diroad, and passed into the baggage cars of the several trains. This immense number of pieces was taken on and given out at 59 different stations. The details of this service are presented in the following table:

Checked at the following principal Stations between July 1 and December 31, 1855.
No. of Pieces. No. of Pieces.
Albany
Rochester
Buffaio 11,938
Syracuse 37.486 Canandalgua 7,652
Utics 27,064 Auburn 6,683
Suspension Bridge22,747 Geneva 6,619
Ningara Falls
Total number of pieces
Estimated checked at 40 other Stations (small estimate) 162,060
Estimated emigrant unchecked (small estimate) 50,000
Delivered to the Hudson River Railroad at Albany 15,770
Delivered to the People's Line Steamboats at Albany 11.504
Delivered to Boston Railroad at Albany 5,691
Grand total of pieces transported 509 314

WARD BEECHER ON THE OBSERVER SHARP'S RIFLES AS A MORAL AGENT.

From The Independent.
The New-York Observer is in distress of mind on account of some remarks which we made upon the efficacy of Sharp's rifles. It quotes the abstract of The Erening Post, and gives us its opinion thereupon. We give the readers of The Independent the whole article as it stands in The Observer :

Affacts as it Stands in The Control?

RIFLES BEFORE BIBLES.

At a public meeting held in his church to promote emigration to Kansas, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher made the following remarks, as we find them in the report of The N. F. Econing Post.

He believed that the Sharp rifle was truly moral agency, and there was more moral power in one of those instruments, so far

He believed that the Sharp rifle was truly moral agency, and there was more moral power in one of those instruments, so far as the six wholders of Kanasa were concerned, than in a hundred Bibles. You might just as well, said he, read the Bible to Bulls loes as to those fellows who follow Atchison and Bringfollow; but they have a supreme respect for the logic that is embodied but they have a supreme respect for the logic that is embodied in Sharp's rifles. The Bible is addressed to the conscience, but when you address it to them, it has no effect—there is no conscience there. Though he was a peace man he had the greatest regard for Sharp's rifles, and for that pluck that tuduced those New England men to use them. In such issues, under such circumstances, he was decidedly in favor of such instrumentalities. General Scott had said it was difficult to get the New-England men into a quarrel, but when they are waked up and have the law on their sides, they are the ugliest customers in the world.

"We remember the time when in the same church, the same

England meu into a quarrel, but when they are wated up have the law on their sides, they are the uglest customers in the world.

"We remainder the time when in the same church, the same minister of the Gospel of Christ, presented a canou-ball to a political signator as the argument to which it was best to resert. That act, as inconsistent as it then appeared, and still appeare to us, was innocent compared with the intemperate, not to say sacrilizious language of the extract made above.

"Allowances, we know, are to be made for the escentricities of men, and much is to be excused on the ground of idioeyneracy, or to use a new word, the ido-sin-crariness of others, but we cannot find in the peculiarities of genius or the infirmities of human temper, any adequate apology for such rampact appeals to the bloodest passions of fighting-men, by a preacher of the Gospel of our Lord and Savior. Rather it seems to us that when the excitement of the occasion is over, and the calm of private reflection and communion with the spiritual comes on, the minister who thus advocates the resort to the rife, and not content with that, declares one of these instruments of death has more moral power in the cause he is pleading than a hundred Bibles, must weep bitter tears over his own rashness and intemperance, and earnestly ask God to give him grace to become less like the sanguinary men whom he would convert by bullots rather than by Bibles.

"This world is already too fend of rifles and cannon-balls. We are not of those who deny the right which necessity impose of sometimes resorting to them. But when that time comes, it will not yet be the duty of God's people to desire that the Bible may as well be read to hundring assunder of the sout rearist the rifle as better in certain cases as a moral reformer, still the Bible is "quick and powerful and charges as to had men however deprayed or abandoned. The Bible is God's word, its right when that time and climes; and if Mr. Beceher rearis the rifle as better in extain cases as a moral re

Upon the whole, we think The Oberrer has improved in its tone toward us, since we last had the necessity laid upon us of reading its personal remarks. But we do not exactly understand the ground of its present

Is the doctrine of personal physical self-defense wrong? Is it wrong for a community to defend itself by force against force ! Is it this what The Observe means

Or, if physical resistance to physical violence right, does it mean that the people of Kansas had no just occasion of alarm, and no reason for arms? Or, supposing they had, is The Observer of opinion that Sharp's rifles were not a proper weapon? Or, is the offense only this, that a clergyman should encourage and praise those wise men for doing their duty courage onely when wickedly attacked? Or, is it only the comparison made between the efficiency of Sharp's rifles and the Bible when employed to beat off drunken engageneral.

rifles and the Bible when employed to beat off dranken vagabonds?

The facts were simply these: A peaceful town was for many days threatened with assault and destruction by a lawless band of maranders who, in morals, character and purpose, were plainly nothing different from so many pirates on the sea, or bandits upon the land. To attempt to restrain such men only by an appeal to their justice, to their respect for human rights, to their conscience—men raked together from the purlieus of a frontier Slave State, drugged with whisky, and hounded on by broken-down and desperate politicians—to neglect proper means of defense, to refuse arms and intrenchments and to trust goods, dwellings and life to such a frenzied crew of unmitigated scoundrels, would have been little short of absolute madness.

But these very men do understand the force of

But these very men do understand the force of courage; of firmness; of the spectacle of armed citizens, who will calmly defend their rights with such force as may be necessary for their preservation.

We praised them for their wisdom and their courage. We praise them again. Their stand was noble, and saintary to the country. It was worthy of New England, and of that New-England ancestry which amid wars and revolutions, built those foundations on which The Observer stands to revile their descendants which The Observer stands to revile their descendants for a worthy imitation of their fathers traits! And we said, that in the circumstances in which the men of Lawrence were placed, the knowledge that they had of Sharp's rifles, and were determined to use them, would produce a more salutary impression upon vagabond politicians, and work more efficiently for peace, than all the moral suasion in the world. Since the world began, moral snasion has always been the better for a little something to stand on. Honesty is a very good thing, but laws, courts and officers help men very much in the exercise of that moral grace. Humanity is very excellent. But among men given to assault and battery, the certain penalty of the law is found to give potency to abstract humanity. A switch over the door enables the parent to address himself to the reason of his child with greater success than if no switches grew or were used! And we are not sure whether the day of switches is not made too short. If careless or conscienceless Editors, who are more eager to make a sharp hit than to inquire after the truth, knew that they would be taken by some venerable and competent man into a retired room and soundly whipped, we have a strong suspicion that it would produce more salutary moral impressions upon them than reading the Bible seems now to do.

produce more salutary moral impressions upon them than reading the Bible seems now to do.

The Bible is a book of moral truths. In that sphere where moral truths are proper it stands before all other instruments. But moral influences are not designed nor adapted to every work which needs to be done. In engineering, in husbandry, in navigation, there are powers which are mightier in these spheres than a Bible. Where timber is to be felled and hewa, an ax is better than a Bible. Nor is it detracting from the merit of the Books to say so. If a child is learning its figures, an Arithmetic is better than a Bible. At sea, for purposes of navigation, a book of logarithms is better than a Bible. Or would the reverential editor of The Observer tell the sailor, bewildered by storms, and now about to take an observation in the first bright day, by looking at the sun and using a sextant or quadrant, that the Bible and the sun of righteousness would be far better for finding his latitude and longitude? This would not be a a whit more abeurd than the pious sentence in The Observer about the sword of the Spirit being better for the defense of Lawrence against armed Missourians than is any rifle!

If the walls of The Observer office were tumbling.

lense of Lawrence against aimed Aissourians taan is any rifle!

If the walls of The Observer office were tumbling down, would the editor be shocked to hear his mechanic say that brick and mortar were better than Bibles for repairing them? In times of a riot in a city, will not the knowledge that a company of solders is marching down upon them, with Mayor Wood at their head, have a more salutary moral effect upon them than to know that the editor of The N. Y. Observer was coming to read them some chapters out of the Bible? If thieves and burglars are to be morally reformed, the Bible is the fountain of right influence. But while a thief is picking your pocket, or a burglar is prying open your door, would you treat him to a Bible or a police officer?

Indeed, the Scriptures themselves give us the highest instances and proofs that physical treatment is

Indeed, the Scriptures themselves give us the highest instances and proofs that physical treatment is sometimes the most powerful preparation for moral treatment. Christ healed the body, relieved the distressed, fed the hungry stomach, and then preached the sentences of immortal truth. Only when the earth quaked and the rocks rent did the Roman feel conviction and civout, "This was the Son of God!" The songs and hymns of Paul and Silas wrought no effect. The minsculous wrenching open of their prison-doors, and all the other tokens of power so impressive to the senses, brought the jailer to his knees a convicted sinner. Indeed this truth is hardly disputed. It is the merest captiousness of a fault-finding disposition to make it an offense for a man to say that there are cases in which physical forces produce moral effects, more certainly than the highest moral truths. And if there ever was a case it was this very one in hand. The drunken rabble had been taught that courage was the hight of manhood, and that cowardice was the

The drunken rabble had been taught that courage was the hight of manhood, and that cowardice was the most despicable vice. They had been taught that a Yankee was a coward to his heart's core, that the smell of powder was more potent upon his fear than even money upon his avarice.

When then, these ignorant fellows saw courage added to thrift; a calm, unboastful but immovable determination to defend their rights, and to die rather than to yield one hair's breadth of principle, it inspired both respect and fear; and there can be no question, in the minds of any who know what such sort of the are made of, that this armed courage of the Kansas emigrants, did more to produce a recognition of their are made of, that this armed courage of the Kansas emigrants, did more to produce a recognition of their rights, than a hundred sermons or a thousand Bibles. And we say again, and with more emphasis than ever before, that when men have been left ignorat and uneducated, when Northern moral imbedility has left them without the least respect for the rights of Northern men, when drunk with whisky, and urged on by brawling leaders, it is no time to deal with them by Bibles. That work should have been done before. That being neglected, and the crew of infuriate wretches being on the eve of a murderous assault, the word and the rifle are new in order. By them only

can the danger be averted and rights maintained Let thieves and assassing and rioters, know that their schemes of violence would never be resisted as cept by moral means, and society could not stand a month?

We are quite enchanted with this unweridly spirit so

cept by moral means, and society could not stand a month?

We are quite enchanted with this unworldly splitted graciously assumed by The Observer. In this hard, knowing world innocence soon loses its articences. It is therefore altogether refreshing to find a man who has the ingenuous simplicity to say that Bibles are better for the defense of a city than a trench and rified. We fancy to ourselves the mild and benignant editor of The Observer, walking his rounds as a sentinel in Lawrence, armed with a folio, and committing to memory over night those texts which the next morning are to prove more potent with a rabble of drunken bandits than Sharp's rifies!

If The Observer had only lived earlier, what lessons of wisdom might it not have given to Cromwell! He gave his soldiers, to be sure, a pocket-piece in the shape of a collection of texts—a sort of pocket-piece in the shape of a collection of texts—a sort of pocket-piece in the shape of a collection of texts—a sort of pocket-piece in the shape of a collection of texts—a sort of pocket-piece in the shape of a collection of texts—a sort of pocket-piece in the shape of steel and sharpened on grindstones, and when the Indians attacked them they used them! The Observer would have said to them, as it has said to us. "The Word of God, brethren, is sharper than any rife."

The old church at Norwich, Ct., was originally built upon a great rock or cliff, not far from its present location, and the Puritans used to carry their markets and Bibles with them to church; the one for the inside work and the other for outside work. When the sentinel, as he did in several instances, descried an Indian for these unenlightened men, unblessed with Observer, laid down their Bibles and took up their rilles, and went at the Indians, just as the Lawrence people would have gone at the heathen in Kansas had not their discretion ran away with their valor. The editor of The Observer had he been there, would have done no such thing. He would have been seen going down to the Indians with a Bi

the aid of the God of batties in their benait. We have not forgotten, and shall not soon forget, the record and the legends of the heait-stirring exhortations made in our own land to those who were to defend their country. And we are even willing to part company with The Observer, that we may keep company with the venerable New-England clergy from the days of the Marflower.

of the Mayflower.

But there are some other attacks which have been made upon us, beside this of The Observer; and there are, besides, some topics not touched in The Observer; article, which call for further remark at

another time.

And we shall only add a word, now, upon the "cannon-ball" story, which has had such a circula-

"cannon-ball" story, which has had such a circulation.

When Gov. Kossuth was in America, it was proposed that the surplus funds derived from public dinners should be given to him for a Hungarian Fund. I was one of the committee that was requested to act in getting up a Banquet of the Press. The tickets were sold almost at a dash. Hundreds said: "We do not "care for the dinner. We will give five or ten dollars" to come in when the speaking begins." It occurred to us that this might be turned to good account, and instead of consuming the money in coetly dinners, it would be better to have Gov. Kossuth speak in some large hall, and charge five dollars a ticket, and thus raise a large fund. I proposed the plan to Gov. Kossuth, obtained his consent, asked and obtained from the trustees the Plymouth Church. Sex thousand dollars were raised thus, and paid into the Hungarian Fund. This was the first move. After that, dimens ceased and meetings began. It was at this meeting that the event happened whose history I now give.

When Gen. Jackson, as President of the United States, visited Boston, Gov. Everett publicly presented him with a relic of our Revolution, viz: a ball which was found upon Bunker Hill, accompanying it with appropriate remarks.

This six-nound ball had been beautifully incased in

him with a relic of our Revolution, viz: a ball which was found upon Bunker Hill, accompanying it with appropriate remarks.

This six-pound ball had been beautifally incased in a mahogany box, and a suitable inscription of the circumstances engraved upon a plate within it. When Gen. Jackson died, he left this relic, to his personal friend, N. P. Trist, esq. This gentleman proposed to me to employ this revolutionary relic, which had come to him in a way so memorable, for the benefit of the Hungarian cause. Two gentlemen, upon my solicitation, offered to give one thousand dollars for it, the same to be paid to the Hungarian fund. In addition to this, they requested me to present this memorial of our struggle to Gov. Kossuth, as Gov. Everett had presented it to President Jackson. I did so, and said, in substance, this: "Once this peaceful land was stirred by war, as now Hungary is. Then this ball was a messenger of death. But now the fields where this ball carried death are waving with peaceful harvests, or covered with streets and houses; so may it be ere long with Hungary. This emblem of old violence now spent, may be a mute but eloquent prophet to Hungary. Where war now desolates, there shall be peace. The sword and cannon that now destroy, shall yet one day become memorials of victory and peaceful glovy. Then the implements that are so dreadful now, will be handed from father to child as precious relice of patriotism." We saw nothing wrong in the act or in the speech then, and we see nothing wrong in the act or in the speech then, and we see nothing wrong in the set. of patriotism." We saw nothing wrong in the act or in the speech then, and we see nothing wrong in them If it were to be done again, we sh again just as heartily as we did it then. Nor would any man have dared to find fault with us before the public for this act if he had been honest enough to tell the truth of the facts. But to produce the desired injury it required that the truth should be suppressed, and it was suppressed; and then the story was told as it now appears in The Observer.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

PLAN OF EMANCIPATION.

 $\pmb{\Lambda}$ respected correspondent in Philadelphia invites attention to the following plan of emancipation by the venerable editor of The Friend's Review:

From The (Philadelphia) Friend's Review.

It is generally conceded that Congress has no power to emancipate the slaves in any of the States; and with this opinion we readily agree, from the consideration that no such power is conferred by the Conand with this opinion we readily agree, from the constitution, and the power is conferred by the Constitution, and the powers not conferred are retained by the States or by the people. But it must also be remembered that the Constitution confers no power upon Congress to establish or maintain Slavery in the States or anywhere else: and it is a significant fact, that when the Constitution was formed, Slavery was not tolerated in any Territory of the Union. We may, however, consider the general powers of Congress as extending to the objects for the promotion of which the Constitution was framed. These were expressly declared to be "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for "the common defense, promote the general welfare, "and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and "our posterity." Now, it could be easily shown that every one of these objects would be promoted by a peaceful extinction of Slavery. Congress might then very consistently appropriate a portion of the funds of the Nation for the purpose of consummating the action of the States within their respective domains. Supposing, then, an Act of Congress obtained, appropriating a specific sum, to be amplied for compensating of the States within their respective domains. Supposing, then, an Act of Congress obtained, appropriating a specific sum, to be applied for compensating the owners of slaves for the sacrifice they might be required to make, in virtue of a law of their own Legislature, which might emancipate all the slaves within the State, and prohibit forever the introduction of any more, either by birth or immigration; such an act would be obnoxious to no serious objection. The desirable of such an act would remire deliberation and tails of such an act would require deliberation and judgment, but the general principle would be easily

tails of such an act would require deliberation and judgment, but the general principle would be easily understood.

It may indeed be objected that the assumed right to property in slaves, being founded in violence and wrong, can have no proper basis; hence no compensation for their liberation is due. Yet it may be considered that the system of slavery has been so far encouraged, and the use of and traffic in the produce of slave labor have been so extensive, that the nation at large may be said to be involved in the guilt of the system, and to have partaken of its gains. A compromise such as proposed would, of course, be very different from the compromises usually made between Slavery and Freedom; and the rights given up by the people of the Free States would be merely their own, not the rights of others. A plan of this kind is probably the only one which would receive the approbation for some time to come of the States where Slavery prevails to any considerable extent. If an Act of Congress, such as here alluded to, could be obtained, limiting its appropriation to a specific and moderate sum, it is probable that some of the States where few slaves are held would be the first to accept the offer, and whatever the number of slaves might be, no injustice would be done to the States or to individuals, for the measure would not be consummated without the concurrence of the State Legislature, nor probably without that of the people in general.

One important advantage which a measure of this kind would possess, would be the celerity with which it might be accomplished. In the States where Slavery was once tolerated, and afterward abolished by law, the abolition was effected gradually. In Pernayivania, which took the lead in this species of legislation, about sixty years were required after the passage of the law,